Parliamentarians and the new agenda for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament

国会議員と核不拡散及び核軍縮の新しいアジェンダ

Presentation for members of Japanese NGOs

4 December 2008

Alyn Ware
アラン・ウェア

Global Coordinator
Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament

核軍縮・不拡散議員連盟
グローバル・コーディネーター
Why should we be worried about nuclear weapons?

- Potential for proliferation to additional countries or to non-State actors
- Nuclear doctrines are widening the role for nuclear weapons
- Potential proliferation provides rationale for preemptive war such as against Iraq

なぜ私たちは核兵器を問題とすべきなのか？

- さらなる国家、あるいは、非国家主体への核拡散の可能性
- 核ドクトリンは核兵器の役割を拡大している。
- 不拡散の可能性は、イラク戦争のような先制攻撃戦争を正当化する。
Risk of nuclear weapons use in regional conflicts

26,000 nuclear weapons remaining in nuclear arsenals, approximately 3000 on high alert

Resources spent on nuclear weapons could be invested in development and environmental needs

Why should we be worried about nuclear weapons?

なぜ私たちは核兵器を問題とすべきなのか？
Why parliamentarians?
なぜ、国会議員？

• The parliaments of the world are the bridges between government and civil society. They provide a bulwark to ensure that governments comply with their international commitments and pledges. They help to give disarmament not only vision, but also some backbone, muscle, and teeth.”

UN Under-Secretary-General Jayantha Dhanapala, U.K. House of Commons, July 3, 2000

• 「…世界にあるさまざまな議会は、政府と市民社会をつなぐ橋である。議会は、政府に国際的な誓約や約束を守させる保塁となる。これらの機能は、核軍縮の将来にとって絶対的に必要なものである。これらの助けによって、軍縮は、ビジョンだけでなく、背骨と筋肉と歯を与えられることになる。」

(ジャヤンタ・ダナパラ国連事務次長、2000年7月3日、英国下院)
Role of legislatures (parliaments)
議会の役割

They appropriate funds, hold officials accountable, debate policy, undertake investigations, ratify treaties, adopt implementing legislation, represent voices of public opinion, and some also work with legislatures in other countries, either directly or indirectly through organizations like the Inter-Parliamentary Union, or Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament.

H.E. Sergio Duarte
UN High Representative for Disarmament
PNND Annual Conference, Pugwash 2008
PNND is a non-partisan forum for parliamentarians, nationally and internationally, to share resources and information, develop cooperative strategies and engage in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament issues, initiatives and arenas.

PNNDとは、国内的にも国際的にも、資料や情報を共有し、協調的な戦略を発展させ、核軍縮の問題、核軍縮への構想、そして核軍縮活動の舞台に関与するための議員のための超党派の広場です。
PNND Co-Presidents

- 600 members in 80 countries
  80か国、600人の加盟国会議員
- Five Co-Presidents
  5人の共同議長
- Global Council
  グローバル評議委員会
- Cross-party sections in a number of parliaments
  多くの議会で超党派の議員が参加
PNND Japan
PNND日本

SUZUKI Tsuneo (LDP)
鈴木恒夫
PNND Japan President

KONO Taro (LDP)
河野太郎
PNND Japan Secretary-General
PNND Global Council

SUEMATSO Yoshi nori (DPJ)
末松義規
PNND Global Council

Other Directors:
DOI Ryuichi 土肥隆一(Democratic Party of Japan)
AKAMATSU Masao 赤松正雄(New Komeito)
YAMAMOTO Ichita 山本一太(Liberal Democratic Party)
FUKUSHI MA Mizuhuo 福島みずほ(Social Democratic Party)
NAKAGAWA Masaharu 中川正春(Democratic Party on Japan)
PNND Japan
PNND日本

www.pnnd.jp

www.peacedepot.org
PNND: Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament issues and initiatives

- An end to nuclear testing
- Fissile materials control
- Reductions in nuclear stockpiles
- Terrorism and nuclear weapons
- Operational status of nukes
- Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe
- NATO nuclear doctrine
- Weaponisation of space
- Establishment of NWFZs
- Nuclear weapons spending
- Nuclear Weapons Convention

核実験の禁止
核分裂性物質の管理
核備蓄削減
テロリズムと核兵器
核兵器の作戦上の地位
欧州の戦術核兵器
NATOの核ドクトリン
宇宙の兵器化
非核兵器地帯の設立
核兵器に関する支出
核兵器禁止条約
• Joint parliamentary statement condemning nuclear test, calling on all states to ratify CTBT and calling for a North-East Asian NWFZ

• Statement was endorsed by parliamentarians from around the world

• Statement was distributed to the leaders and chief negotiators of the Six Party talks, and also to all United Nations ambassadors
PNND is collaborating with the CTBTO and the Inter-Parliamentary Union on a campaign with parliamentarians to encourage ratification of the CTBT by those countries whose ratifications are required for entry-into-force.

These include China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the United States.
Fissile materials control
核分裂性物質の管理

• PNND is collaborating with the Middle Powers Initiative to promote negotiations on a verified fissile materials treaty

• PNND members are active in implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1540 to prevent spread of fissile materials to non-State actors

• PNND members were active in opposing the US-India nuclear technology deal which could assist India in increasing its supply of fissile materials
Parliamentarians join Nobel laureates in call to reduce readiness to use nuclear weapons:

- 57 parliamentarians from 18 countries including Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Finland, Germany, India, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Tanzania, the UK and the USA joined 44 Nobel Laureates from around the world in an appeal calling on the States possessing nuclear weapons to reduce their operational status.

Parliamentarians encouraged their governments to support UN resolutions on operational status of nuclear weapons (Japan voted in favour).
NWFZs already established in Antarctica, Outer Space, Latin America, the Pacific, South-East Asia, Africa, Central Asia
Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

- PNND members propose the establishment of NW FZs in North-East Asia, the Middle East, Central Europe and the Arctic

- PNND加盟議員は、北東アジア、中東、中央ヨーロッパ、北極における非核兵器地帯を提唱している。
Nuclear Weapon Free Zones
Nuclear Weapon Free Zones
Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

非核兵器地帯
Political difficulties in establishing zones

• Tlatelolco – Brazil/Argentina/Cuba
  トラテロルコーブラジル/アルゼンチン/キューバ

• South Pacific – ANZUS treaty, French nuclear testing
  南太平洋ーANZUS条約、フランス核実験

• South East Asia – transit
  東南アジアー通過問題

• Africa – South Africa, Egypt/Israel, other priorities
  アフリカー南アフリカ、エジプト/イスラエル、他の優先課題

• Central Asia – Opposition by NWS, military arrangements with NWS
  中央アジアー核兵器国の反対、核兵器国との軍事協定
Regional NWFZs – differences
各地の非核兵器地帯一相違点

• Zone of application 適用範囲
• Deployment or transit through internal waters, territorial waters and exclusive economic zones 内水、領海、排他的経済水域（EEZ）における配備や通過
• Nuclear waste dumping 放射性廃棄物の投棄
• Attacks on nuclear facilities 核施設への攻撃
• Nuclear fuel cycle 核燃料サイクル
• Administrative bodies 事務機構
• Status – EIF and NWS ratifications 発効、核兵器国の批准
Regional NWFZs – Commonalities
各地の非核兵器地帯における共通点

- Prohibition of manufacture, production, possession, testing, acquisition and receipt of nuclear weapons by States parties
  核兵器の製造、生産、所有、実験、取得、受領の禁止

- Prohibition of deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of States parties
  締約国の領域における核兵器配備の禁止

- Protocols in which the Nuclear Weapon States give negative security assurances to the States parties.
  核兵器国による消極的安全保証の供与
NWFZs and Nuclear Disarmament
非核兵器地帯と核軍縮

- NWFZs provide steps towards nuclear disarmament
  非核兵器地帯は核軍縮に向けた諸措置を供する

- NWFZs establish regional mechanisms which would be part of nuclear disarmament
  非核兵器地帯は核軍縮の一翼を担う地域機構を設立する

- The Model Nuclear Weapons Convention highlights the important role of NWFZs (preamble)
  モデル核兵器禁止条約は非核兵器地帯の重要な役割を強調している（前文）

- The Model NWC incorporates NWFZs and other mechanisms into its nuclear abolition regime (verification, conflict resolution, relation to other treaties...)
  モデル核兵器禁止条約は、非核兵器地帯及びその他のメカニズムをその核廃絶体制に組み込んでいる（検証、紛争解決、他の条約との関係等）
Parliamentarians and the new disarmament agenda – UN SG’s five point plan

議員と軍縮の新しいアジェンダ
国連事務総長の5つの提案

- I urge all NPT [Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons] parties, in particular the nuclear-weapon States, to fulfil their obligation under the Treaty to undertake negotiations on effective measures leading to nuclear disarmament.

私はすべてのNPT締約国、とりわけ核兵器国に対し、核軍縮へと繋がる効果的な措置に関する交渉を行うという、条約に基づく義務を果たすことを強く求める。
They could pursue this goal by agreement on a framework of separate, mutually reinforcing instruments. Or they could consider negotiating a nuclear-weapons convention, backed by a strong system of verification, as has long been proposed at the United Nations. Upon the request of Costa Rica and Malaysia, I have circulated to all United Nations Member States a draft of such a convention, which offers a good point of departure.

各国は、相互に補強しあう別々の条約の枠組みに合意することにより、こうした目標を追求することが可能である。あるいは長年国連において提案されてきたように、確固たる検証システムに裏打ちされた核兵器禁止条約の交渉を検討することも可能である。コスタリカ及びマレーシアの要請を受け、私はすべての国連加盟国にこの条約の草案を配布した。これは良い出発点となるものである。
Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty

核不拡散条約 第6条

"Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

「各締約国は、核軍備競争の早期の停止および核軍備の縮小に関する効果的な措置につき、ならびに厳格かつ効果的な国際管理の下における全面的かつ完全な軍備縮小に関する条約について、誠実に交渉をおくることを約束する。」
International Court of Justice – 1996
国際司法裁判所—1996年

• There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control

• 厳格かつ効果的な国際管理のもと、すべての面にわたって核軍縮につながる交渉を誠実におこない、これを完了する義務が存在する。
Approaches to Nuclear Disarmament
核軍縮へのアプローチ

• Incremental (Step-by-step)
  漸進的（ステップ・バイ・ステップ）

• Comprehensive
  包括的

• Incremental-Comprehensive
  — Concurrent steps
  — Framework for complete nuclear disarmament
  漸進的—包括的
  — 同時並行措置
  — 完全な核軍備撤廃に向けた枠組み
Step-by-step approach
ステップ・バイ・ステップ アプローチ

- Japan firmly believes that we must take concrete measures to achieve steady step-by-step progress in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation

Japan Explanation of Vote in abstaining on UN resolutions calling for a nuclear weapons convention

「日本は、核軍縮及び不拡散における確実なステップ・バイ・ステップの前進を達成するために、確固たる諸措置を講じるべきであるとの確信を持っている。」

核兵器禁止条約を求める国連決議への棄権に対する日本政府の投票説明
Problems with step-by-step

・ Nuclear capabilities are not the same. Thus measures to address only one or two steps will discriminate in favour of some and against others (examples, CTBT, fissile materials).

・ Step-by-step fails to address key policies which serve to maintain nuclear weapons

・ Step-by-step fails to look ahead and plan for future possibilities
NATO
STRATEGIC PLANNING
Towards a Nuclear-Free World
核兵器のない世界に向けて

• The steps we are taking now to address these (nuclear) threats are not adequate to the danger. With nuclear weapons more widely available, deterrence is decreasingly effective and increasingly hazardous.
現在我々がこの脅威に対してとっている対処措置は適切ではない。核兵器が広く入手可能な現状においては、抑止はますます効果を失い、危険をますます増加させている。

• the importance of the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons as a guide to our thinking about nuclear policies
核政策を考える指針として「核兵器のない世界」というビジョンが大切であること

GEORGE P. SHULTZ, WILLIAM J. PERRY,
HENRY A. KISSINGER and SAM NUNN

ジョージ・シュルツ、ウィリアム・ペリー、ヘンリー・キッシンジャー、サム・ナン
2008年1月15日
ウォールストリート・ジャーナル
“In some respects, the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons is like the top of a very tall mountain. From the vantage point of our troubled world today, we can't even see the top of the mountain, and it is tempting and easy to say we can't get there from here. We must chart a course to higher ground where the mountaintop becomes more visible.”
Believing that the eventual abolition of nuclear weapons is possible can act as a spur for action on disarmament. Believing, at whatever level, that it is not, is the surest path to inaction.

“What we need is both vision - a scenario for a world free of nuclear weapons - and action... Would he (William Wilberforce) have achieved half as much, would he have inspired the same fervour in others if he had set out to 'regulate' or 'reduce' the slave trade rather than abolish it? I doubt it.
Nuclear weapons should be outlawed, as are biological and chemical weapons... [we should] explore the political, legal, technical and procedural options for achieving this within a reasonable time.

Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, 2006
Disarmament experts – WMD Commission

A nuclear disarmament treaty is achievable and can be reached through careful, sensible and practical measures. Benchmarks should be set; definitions agreed; timetables drawn up and agreed upon; and transparency requirements agreed.

Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission
Final Report 2006

核軍備撤廃条約は実現可能であり、慎重で思慮深い現実的な措置を通じて達成可能なのである。基準点を設定し、定義に合意し、タイムテーブルを策定しこれに合意し、透明性のための要件に合意する。

大量破壊兵器委員会
最終報告書2006
Engaging States not party to the NPT

“What we should be trying to do is create a framework in which, rather than being outside, these guys (States not party to the NPT) once again become insiders.

That may mean thinking about a whole new nuclear weapons treaty which builds upon and creates a new framework around the existing Non-Proliferation Treaty, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, together with the fissile materials ban that’s being negotiated or proposed to be negotiated at the moment — bringing all those threads together and creating a new environment in which you don’t have the perceived discrimination that exists at the moment within the NPT between the nuclear haves and have-nots, where you don’t have outsiders and don’t have insiders, but have a whole new approach to bringing these threads together.”

Gareth Evans, Co-Chair, International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, June 2008
Model Nuclear Weapons Convention –
We can see a path to a Nuclear Weapons Free World

Model Nuclear Weapons Convention explores the legal, technical and political elements for achieving and maintaining a nuclear weapons free world

Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons

Calls upon all States to fulfil immediately that (disarmament) obligation by commencing multilateral negotiations leading to an early conclusion of a nuclear weapons convention prohibiting the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons and providing for their elimination;

核兵器の開発、生産、実験、配備、備蓄、移転、威嚇あるいは使用を禁止し、それらの廃棄を規定する核兵器禁止条約（NWC）の早期締結に繋がる多国間交渉を開始することをすべての国家に要請する。
Governments – Support for UN Resolution
各国政府―国連決議への支持

• In favour（賛成）: 125 countries including Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Ireland, New Zealand, Pakistan, South Africa, Sweden.

• Abstaining（棄権）。21 countries including Australia, Japan, Canada

• Against（反対）。29 countries including France, Germany, Israel, USA, and UK
Whereas the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention, circulated by the United Nations, demonstrates the feasibility of achieving the global elimination of nuclear weapons:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, that the House of Representatives calls upon the President to initiate multilateral negotiations for the abolition of nuclear weapons.
That this House notes the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; further notes the continued failure of the international community to abolish nuclear weapons or prevent their further proliferation; endorses the unanimous opinion of the International Court of Justice that there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith, and bring to a conclusion, negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control; further notes the submission of a model nuclear weapons convention by Costa Rica to the United Nations for discussion;
40th Anniversary of NPT - NWC

Statement

80 Members of the European Parliament

We believe that only way to ensure the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the achievement of global security is to move resolutely towards the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons;

We therefore:

• call for multilateral negotiations that would prevent proliferation and achieve nuclear disarmament through a global non-discriminatory treaty – a Nuclear Weapons Convention...

5. pledge to submit the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention to our respective parliaments in order to promote negotiations, raise public awareness, identify steps toward nuclear disarmament, and indicate national measures that could be taken to support and implement a convention.
議員として核兵器禁止条約を支持します

2008年7月1日、核兵器禁止条約（NPT）の40周年記念日に、P.N.A.D（核兵器・不拡散議員連盟）ホールド会議を支持したのであります。

国会議員として、覚悟をこめて世界各国から以下のことを呼びかける。

私たちは、新しい核脅威への核兵器の拡散、テロリストが核兵器を入手したり生産する可能性、現在の保有国による核兵器の拡散を防止する政策の継続、などがもたらしている脅威が高くまっていることを、私たちは懸念する。

核兵器の拡散を阻止し、世界の安全を保全するための唯一の確かな道は、実際に核兵器の全面禁止と完全廃絶に向かってあることであると、私たちは信じる。

国際法の原則に基づいて判断された、核兵器の核支部の下における核軍縮の拡大による核軍縮を実現するべきであるという万民への懇願を、私たちは真剣に受けとめる。

したがって、私たちは以下のことを訴える。

1. 世界構造の監査のない条約、すなわち核兵器禁止条約（NWC）を通じて核拡散を阻止し、核兵器廃絶を達成する多国間交渉を呼びかける。

2. 実際の措置を達成するためのガイドとして、また、核兵器廃絶を可能にする法的、技術的、制度的・および政治的増強の提案として、NPT準備委員会（NPT/CONF. 2010/PC. 1/WP. 17）および国連総会（UN Doc. A/62/656）にコストのない核軍縮を実現するためのstarterprojectを提案する。

3. 核兵器の軍縮と完全廃絶は、多くのすでに実行上った措置や数度実施される措置はもちろん、一連の連続的措置が関係するような複数の過程なることから、したがって、核兵器禁止条約は1国の条約になる可能性も求む必要のマーケティングになる可能性があることを認識する。

4. 核兵器禁止条約は、NPT、CTBT（包括的核実験廃絶条約）、IAEA（国際原子力機関）など既存の核軍縮核軍縮条約を取り入れ、強化し、発展させ、また拡張させるものであることを強調する。

5. 統合を促進し、世界を高め、核軍縮に向かう著明進展を促進し、条約を支持し実行するために各国がとり得る措置を示すために、それぞれの国会にモデル核兵器禁止条約を提出することを約束する。

私たちは、世界中の国会議員にこれらの努力に加わるよう呼びかける。

署名
Parliamentary endorsement for a Nuclear Weapons Convention
国会議員による核兵器禁止条約への賛同署名

Signatories from Japan as of November 18, 2008
日本からの署名者（2008年11月18日現在）

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<th>House of Representatives 12</th>
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<td>DOI Ryuichi (DPJ)</td>
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<td>HIRAOKA Hideo (DPJ)</td>
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<td>TERADA Minoru (LDP)</td>
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According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, global military expenditures last year exceeded $1.3 trillion.

Ten years ago, the Brookings Institution published a study that estimated the total costs of nuclear weapons in just one country — the United States — to be over $5.8 trillion, including future clean-up costs.

By any definition, this has been a huge investment of financial and technical resources.
Nobel Laureates and nuclear abolition

“The failure to address the nuclear threat and to strengthen existing treaty obligations to work for nuclear weapons abolition shreds the fabric of cooperative security. A world with nuclear haves and have-nots is fragmented and unstable, a fact underscored by the current threats of proliferation. In such an environment cooperation fails. Thus, nations are unable to address effectively the real threats of poverty, environmental degradation and nuclear
On the occasion of International Women’s Day for Disarmament, we appeal to world leaders and all citizens to re-dedicate themselves to implementing the goals of the United Nations for a world of peace and security through disarmament, the non-violent resolution of conflicts, and the reallocation of resources from military budgets to meet social and development goals.

The threats to our planet—of climate change, poverty and war—can only be overcome by nations and the global community working in cooperation—something not possible while nations maintain large and expensive militaries and threaten to destroy each other.
Norwegian parliamentarians and civil society have moved the Norwegian multi-billion dollar Pension Fund to divest from corporations involved in the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Norwegian MP Hallgeir Langeland promoted Norwegian divestment from nuclear weapons corporations.
In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for...
Catastrophic climatic effects of nuclear weapons use
核兵器の使用による気候への壊滅的影響

• Catastrophic disruptions of global climate and massive levels of ozone depletion will result if less than 1% of the global nuclear arsenal is detonated in large cities

• The climatic consequences of a large nuclear war – or even a pre-emptive nuclear strike – would make the Earth uninhabitable for humans
India-Pakistan conflict using 50 Hiroshima-size nuclear weapons
50の広島規模の核兵器が使用されたインド・パキスタン間の紛争
Change in average surface temps
2 years after a possible India-Pakistan nuclear war
インド・パキスタン間の核戦争から2年後の平均地表温度における変化
Global warming since 1880 (in blue) compared to predicted temperature drops from nuclear war

1880年からの地球温暖化（青線）と核戦争による気温低下予測との比較
Canadian wheat production after small drops in average surface temperature

平均地表温度の低下とカナダの小麦生産
No physical or financial obstacle is preventing us, within a decade or less, from freeing the world from the man-made scourge of nuclear weapons. The only things lacking are moral leadership and political will.

PNND Special Representative Senator Roméo A. Dallaire, former Commander of the UN Forces in Rwanda, Award winning author of “Shake hands with the devil: The failure of humanity in Rwanda.”
PNND – Developing political will

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